

THE AMERICAN

A NATIONAL JOURNAL

VOL. XXVII—No. 689

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1897

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE AMERICAN.

A NATIONAL JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY ON EACH SATURDAY.

[Entered at the Post Office at Philadelphia as matter of the second class.]

BARKER PUBLISHING COMPANY, PROPRIETORS.

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BUSINESS AND EDITORIAL OFFICES,

Rooms 24 and 26

Forrest Building, No. 119 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia.

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*Address through Post Office: THE AMERICAN, Box 1202, Philadelphia.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

POLITICS makes strange bed-fellows. The thirst for office exercises a terrible hold over men. To get office by the sacrifice of principle seems to be the ruling passion of the day. Candidates seem ready to put up with any bed-fellows who will help them into office. It is ever office with them, seemingly never principle. Men professing to fight for great principles, as well as the lower grade of politicians who make no denial that they are fighting for the spoils, seem quite ready to purchase office by a compromise of principles; seem quite ready to purchase office at the price of helping others into office holding principles, ideas of public policy, quite antagonistic to their own. So we have men, in their thirst for office, making deals with political opponents, running for office on tickets with other men holding principles quite the reverse of their own—have men running for office on the same ticket, and aiding one another to secure votes, who, if elected, would endeavor to thwart each other's moves, prevent one another from carrying out the ideas each professes to represent.

And yet such men go before the people and ask for their

suffrage as representatives of great principles. It is not fair, it is not right, for men to go before the people pledging themselves to the advancement of great principles, and at the same time make political deals that, in the event of their election, would tie their hands and leave them powerless to carry out the principles, the policies to which they have publicly pledged themselves. And this is what the candidate does who enters into a fusion deal with opponents, whereby he seeks to lift himself into office by assisting others into office who, holding principles antagonistic to his own, must be expected to block his plans, render him powerless, if elected, to carry out the policies by the advocacy of which he seeks to win the suffrages of the people. To purchase office in this way is unworthy. But the thirst for office seems to be so great that men are ready to stoop to even this to attain it.

Politics does indeed make strange bed-fellows.

A SAD exhibit of this compromising of principle for place we are having in Greater New York politics. We see the leading candidates for the mayoralty acquiescing in, if not fathering deals, by which each mayoralty candidate seeks to gather support by a bartering away to opponents of the other offices to be filled. Thus we have the leading candidates running on tickets with political opponents, with men not in accord with their views, quite willing to lift such men into office in return for the support that such men may bring them. So the result of the election will not unlikely be the election of a mayor holding to one set of principles and other officers and a municipal assembly holding to quite another, the inevitable result of which must be to tie the hands of the mayor. And Tammany, the Citizens' Union and Henry George's managers alike, are guilty of these deals, guilty of seeking to barter away the lesser offices, and therewith principle, for the mayoralty.

Thus we have Henry George who goes before the public advocating the most distinct and decided of principles standing upon a ticket, or rather tickets, made up of men quite opposed to the principles that he advocates. In New York he, or rather Ex-Congressman Johnson, of Cleveland, now the head of a street railway system in New York, acting for him, has made a fusion arrangement whereby the name of Henry George appears at the head of the New York municipal ticket nominated by the Citizens' Union, an organization opposed to quite everything Mr. George favors. Thus the followers of Henry George, believers in the Chicago platform, are called upon to aid in filling the New York borough offices and the municipal assembly with opponents of that platform. In short, in the borough of New York the advocates of the Chicago platform are tied hand and foot to the opponents of that platform. In the borough of Brooklyn similar fusion has been made with a band of disgruntled Democrats.

For a clear conception of the status of affairs it must be born in mind that by the charter under which it is consolidated, Greater New York is divided into five boroughs, of which New York is one and Brooklyn another, each endowed with a distinct municipal government, legislative and executive, entrusted with

the administration of the borough within a certain sphere, and that superior to the borough governments stands the government of the greater city. Thus we have practically five lesser city governments revolving within and subordinate to a greater. And the making of laws for the greater city is entrusted to a municipal assembly of two branches, a Council and a Board of Aldermen, the council to be presided over by a president elected by popular vote of the people of Greater New York. The administration is entrusted to a mayor who appoints all the chiefs of departments, save one, the Comptroller, or city Treasurer, who is chosen by the people. Thus it is that the people of Greater New York vote collectively for candidates for three and only three offices, namely Mayor, Comptroller and President of the Council. In the event of anything happening to the Mayor, the President of the Council becomes acting mayor until such time as a mayor can be chosen.

So, to repeat, there are but three men the people of the different boroughs of New York will be called upon to vote for in common, candidates for Mayor, Comptroller and President of Council. The candidates for these three places will stand at the head of a different ticket in each of the boroughs. So the opportunities for the making of deals, and different deals in each borough are numerous. And the traffic among the different organizations seeking to get some of their candidates into office has been appalling. Principles have been thrown to the four winds and candidate traded off against candidate.

We have already mentioned how the Henry Georgites, who have taken to themselves the name of Jeffersonian Democrats, are called upon by a fusion deal made by ex-Congressman Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, to support the Citizens' Union borough ticket in New York, a ticket made up of men holding quite contrary views to those put forth in the platform upon which Mr. George stands. Thus, Mr. George stands for municipal ownership and operation of street railways. The Citizens' Union candidates standing in the borough of New York for the municipal assembly of the greater city are opposed to such ownership, yet the followers of Mr. George are called upon to vote for such candidates, opposed to the principles held by the followers of Henry George as such candidates are. And this municipal body which the Georgites, favoring municipal ownership, are about to aid to put in control of the opponents of such ownership, is the legislative body without whose affirmative act the assumption of the municipal ownership of the street railways of New York is out of the question.

So Mr. Johnson has arranged a fusion deal for Mr. George calculated to make the carrying out of the views held by Mr. George as to municipal ownership of public franchises impossible, even in the event of his election. But from Mr. Johnson's point of view, as the head of a big street railway system, this is no doubt a satisfactory deal. It is a peculiar thing anyway for a man who profits from the private ownership of a public franchise to be managing the campaign of one who regards such profits as illegitimate and demands the resumption, by the city, of such public franchises, that they may be operated for the public benefit, not private profit.

And now one more word as to the apparent readiness of the Henry George managers to purchase success for the head of the ticket by bartering away the tail. There has been hunting around for a candidate for City Comptroller in which hunt has been evinced a readiness to put on the ticket with Mr. George a man quite opposed to George principles if that candidate would bring votes. Thus we had ex-Congressman John De Witt Warner, as straight a gold monometallist and dear money advocate as ever walked, seriously spoken of as running mate of Henry George, holding to quite the reverse of such views.

SO MUCH as to the readiness of Henry George's managers to purchase success by the compromise of principle, a success that

so purchased would be empty save for the recipients of the spoils of office, for success purchased by electing a hostile municipal assembly could not advance the principles for which Mr. George stands. And now as to another organization that professes high regard for principle, the National Democracy, the party of Palmer and Buckner last year, a party made up of high principled men who would desert a party, but never compromise principle. This high professing organization has compromised, and for one lone office. The leaders of this organization struck a bargain with Tammany. Tammany nominated one of these gold Democrats, a professing reformer, Mr. Francis M. Scott, for supreme court judge. In return this organization supports the Tammany borough ticket in New York, while endorsing Seth Low for mayor of the greater city.

So much for the trafficking of the gold Democrats for one office. And as for the greatest reform organization of them all, greatest in professions and self estimation, the Citizens' Union, we have seen how that organization was ready to give aid and comfort to the George movement, lend its machinery to that movement in return for the Georgites endorsing the Citizens' Union borough ticket in New York. As for Tammany, it professes to stand for little principle, so that we have little to complain of when on its ticket with Van Wyck for mayor, who is supposed to be a silver man, it puts a Mr. Guggenheimer for president of the council, who bolted the Chicago platform and ticket and would have voted for Mr. McKinley if absence from the city at registering time had not prevented him from registering, and so left him without a vote on election day. Such action of Tammany is significant as showing how ready that organization is to mold itself in accordance with the politically expedient and what little regard it has for the declarations of the Chicago Convention.

THUS Tammany, the regular Democratic organization in New York, turns its back on the issues raised at Chicago last year, put forth as Democratic doctrine, and endorsed by Tammany a year ago for the sake of party regularity. And what have the national Democratic leaders to say? They have nothing to say, no opinion, no warning to utter to the effect that an organization that casts Democratic doctrines to the four winds need not expect recognition in Democratic councils, that an organization that repudiates Democratic doctrine as enunciated by the party in National Convention will be considered as repudiating the Democratic party, as hostile to that party. But far from this we have a seeming disposition on the part of the Democratic leaders of the last campaign to condone the relapse of Tammany, to even excuse it on the ground of political expediency, which adds strength to the belief that victory and offices are dearer to the Democratic party than principle.

It is a mistake on the part of Democratic leaders to thus hold silence and pay no heed to the abandonment of principle by the Democratic party here and there, a mistake even from the partisan standpoint; for such silence, such tacit consent as silence gives to the doctrine that principle must not be weighed against offices, must disgust men of lofty purposes, high ideas and unimpeachable attachment to principle in the Democratic party, and so hasten the break up of that party. Still we have this silence. Senator Jones, of Arkansas, declares there is no occasion for him to either endorse or disapprove the nomination of either Van Wyck or Henry George. And Mr. Bryan declares he is not discussing New York politics. Instead of an effort to hold up the Democratic party in New York to principle we have silence.

So Tammany abandons with ready ease the Democratic principles enunciated by the last National Convention. Henry George, who stepped in to pick up the advocacy of the principles abandoned by Tammany, stands compromised by the bartering done in his behalf by his managers; the Low managers have shown a readiness to compromise principles for offices; the Republican

campaign is run on no purer a plane. And, naturally, amidst all this trafficking, the outcome of the contest in Greater New York is involved in the greatest of uncertainty.

But enough of New York. We have made mention of the fact that Mr. Bryan declares he is not discussing New York politics, why, we know not, save it be on grounds of political expediency. But the shaping of New York politics is not the only thing he is not discussing. Mr. Bryan is, or has been, in Kentucky, campaigning, and to his annoyance some one bluntly asked him if he favored government ownership of railroads and telegraphs. This is one of the questions Mr. Bryan is not discussing, so he parried it. Such opinion as he has on this question he keeps to himself, apparently he deems it would be politically inexpedient, hurtful of his chances for office to publicly avow it. He errs in this for, if we mistake not greatly, our people want a leader who will lead.

THE contest in Kentucky is an interesting one. There is but one office at stake, and that a minor one, Clerk of the Court of Appeals, but around this stake wages a bitter struggle for supremacy in the Democratic party. This struggle bids fair to give the state to the Republicans. The regular Democratic organization is in the hands of the silver Democrats, but the machinery of that organization is much run down. There is not the money to run it as there was once, for the men who formerly contributed most largely, are now fighting the organization, bending their efforts to build up an organization of gold Democrats that will by and bye be strong enough to swallow up the silver organization. It is this fight and the rebuilding of the Populist party in the state under the energetic direction of Jo. A. Parker, who with the slimmest of resources, and the greatest of self-sacrifice, a sacrifice that is demanded of all opponents of the moneyed oligarchy, is canvassing the state, that gives the election in Kentucky unusual interest. The contest of the gold Democrats to defeat the silver Democrats and finally recapture the party in Kentucky for gold, compels attention, and the rebuilding of the Populist party is watched with hope as the making of a rallying point for all the forces opposed to the moneyed oligarchy in the event of the gold Democrats recapturing the state and disrupting the party.

It is not only in Kentucky that Democracy is threatened with backsliding to its position held before the Chicago convention, namely a party subservient to the moneyed interests. In Maryland the party has officially turned its back on the silver question, and, far from suffering from such backsliding, it is most probable that the party that has thus stooped to gain victory by the abandonment of principle will, favored by the discord in the Republican party, win an undeserved victory. In Ohio, also, we have a disposition to put the silver question to one side, and out in Iowa we have Ex-Governor Boies stumping the State for the Democrats and urging a compromise on the money question. There was an effort to bring about an effective fusion of Democrats, silver Republicans and Populists in Iowa. This was made difficult by an act passed by the last legislature and designed to retard fusion by providing that the name of no candidate for office should appear on the official ballot in more than one place. This of course made fusion impossible in the old way of having the same candidates appear on the ballot under the heading of each party. It made it necessary to accomplish fusion under one party name, and fusion so accomplished of course destroyed the identity of the parties whose names were not taken. And as the Democrats insisted on the fusion being made under the name of the Democratic party and had their way, many Populists who were not ready to see the organization of their party destroyed and were not content to have the fight made on the silver question alone, revolted, bolted the fusion convention. The result is that the Populist name has been preserved and that a Populist ticket is in the field. What figure the Populist party will cut in the

struggle and how far the dissension in the Democratic party, given incentive by Mr. Boies' compromising attitude, will affect the election, remains to be seen.

THUS we find indications in nearly all the states to hold elections this fall of a Democratic backsliding on the silver issue. The Democrats of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts seemed to set an example of steadfastness to principle in the midst of discouraging surroundings. The conventions in both states declared unequivocally for free silver coinage. But now it seems that the Pennsylvania Democrats have caught the contagion of backsliding on the silver issue. Last Saturday the Democrats of Pittsburg had a political rally. The rally was small, the speakers were blue; one of them, the county Chairman, finally declared that: "It looks as if free silver had been given a black eye by the Democrats of this country, judging from the speeches and temper of this audience." And then the meeting took on a decided anti-silver character, it being asserted that the question of free silver coinage was not an issue in the state campaign, that it should be dropped and the fight made on state lines. Indeed, the speeches sounded much like the editorials we are wont to read in the *Philadelphia Record*, which, gold paper though it is, finds reason to support the Democratic State ticket on local grounds.

THE first large importations of gold since October a year ago arrived this week. During October, 1896, we imported \$27,000,000 of gold, in September \$34,000,000. This gold was borrowed in London by the New York banks. Deposits were being pulled down, there was a semi-panic, the reserves of the banks were well nigh exhausted, they had to bring gold from abroad, curtail loans greatly and precipitate the panic that threatened or resort to an issue of Clearing House certificates, not a popular move in face of the Presidential election. So they brought gold.

Earlier in the year, in July, exports of gold pulled down the Treasury gold reserve below the \$100,000,000 limit, and it was evident that unless a turn soon came in the tide a bond issue would be necessary to replenish it. And another bond issue right in the midst of the Presidential canvas was feared. The bankers of New York came together and resolved to do what they could to prevent it. At another time they would have welcomed a bond issue and the opportunity of profit thereby offered. But not so then. They did not want to put additional ammunition in the hands of the opponents of the gold standard. So instead of organizing to raid the Treasury they organized a syndicate to protect the Treasury. They deposited gold in the Treasury in exchange for legal tender notes and took steps to prevent further drain on the Treasury reserve for gold for export. They announced that they had arranged to draw exchange on London to an amount of \$50,000,000, or, if need be, \$75,000,000, to stave off gold exports until cotton and grain would commence to move freely in September, and make sufficient exchange to meet requirements. Until sufficient exchange was made naturally the syndicate would make it artificially by borrowing in London. So gold exports were checked. But, as we have said, depositors drew down their deposits in the summer and first autumn months of last year; the reserves of the New York banks were depleted. Those banks found themselves cramped, confronted with the necessity of curtailing loans, replenishing their reserves with imported gold, or the issue of Clearing House certificates. They dared not greatly contract their loans, for it would have meant panic, disaster to customers of the banks and banks alike; they dared not issue Clearing House certificates. They chose the other alternative—borrowed gold abroad and imported it.

And now the New York banks, as last year, find their reserves depleted. It is not a drain on deposits that has depleted their reserves this year, but the great extension of loans on American securities returned to us by European holders, an

extension which the banks have had to make to support stock exchange quotations. But this extension went on until the banks could extend no longer. The taking of the money so loaned away from New York to pay for grain bought by foreigners and for which they sent securities in payment, made a serious drain on the cash reserves of the New York banks. Those reserves being drawn down close to the legal limit the banks had to stop making extensions, had to curtail loans. This at once brought the upward movement of prices on our stock exchange to a standstill. And as loans have been further curtailed prices have fallen. But to greatly curtail loans meant a great fall in prices, to be followed inevitably by a drain on deposits. So the banks have not wanted to curtail loans. They have looked for gold imports as an escape. Two banks imported gold at a loss a couple of weeks ago, that they might build up their reserves and avoid the necessity of curtailing loans and forcing a fall in prices. And this week \$6,000,000 more of gold has come, but failed to keep stock exchange prices from falling. If prices are to be supported more, much more, gold must be imported.

Now we are selling so much produce abroad and buying so little that it would seem gold would come naturally to pay for the balance in our favor. Of course, much of that balance is needed to pay charges against us, interest on our foreign debt, etc., that do not appear in our trade returns. And then, too, such balance may be kept down, wiped out by the return to us of our securities. And many securities have been returned to us. Still exchange has fallen to a point where it would seem to be profitable to import gold. But the Bank of England is resolved that it should not be profitable if it can prevent, for it does not want to part with gold. So it has put a premium on gold bullion and a premium on American eagles. The coining value of an ounce of British standard gold is £3. 17s. 10½d., the Bank of England has raised the price to £3. 18s. ½d., that is, put a premium on gold of two pence, four cents, an ounce.

The charging of this premium means that exchange on London must fall from ¾ to 1 cent a pound sterling below the point at which we could import gold under normal conditions at a profit before we can import it at a profit. The last \$6,000,000 of gold imported was not imported at a profit. Indeed, it cost more than it was worth, that is cost more than \$6,000,000 of exchange to get the \$6,000,000 in eagles. We got indeed the \$6,000,000, but in getting it we had to give our British cousins a quittance for more than \$6,000,000 of indebtedness, for the Bank of England demanded that we pay a premium for our own gold eagles.

We should take a lesson from this great scramble for gold. When England had the opportunity to take gold from us Uncle Sam always stepped up and handed out gold eagles without ever thinking of asking a premium. To have done so, he thought, would have destroyed confidence in our currency, impeached the national credit and so he kept paying out gold eagles on demand of our British cousins, even when he had to turn around, borrow gold and pay a premium for the very eagles he gave to the Englishmen without a premium. But now, when our turn at the gold scramble comes, we have to pay a premium of 4 cents an ounce to the Bank of England to get our gold eagles back again. And as a million dollars in gold eagles weighs about 53,760 ounces, this means we have to pay a premium of \$2,150.40 to the Bank of England before that old institution will sell a \$1,000,000 in eagles. It is because of this premium that we find it so hard to import gold, it is because we never charged a premium for gold eagles that foreign bankers have ever found it so easy to draw gold from us.

Now, as the \$6,000,000 of gold just imported cost more than \$6,000,000, what inducement was there to import it and who

imported it? It is reported that it was imported by the syndicate that proposes to buy the Union Pacific property and the interest of the United States in that property at the sale set down for November 1st. And the reason for importing it was that the New York banks are in no condition to part with the money that must be paid into the Treasury on account of that sale.

Thanks to some timely threats of Attorney General McKenna as to opposing the sale, the Union Pacific Reorganization Committee has raised its guaranteed bid for the government interest in the Union Pacific from \$45,754,060 to \$50,000,000. It is a shame to sell the claim of the government for any such sum, for it is worth its face, which is, with the sinking fund that goes with the sale, \$26,000,000 more. But perhaps we should be thankful for little things.

The Union Pacific owes the United States the principal of the bonds advanced for construction, \$27,236,512, and unpaid interest thereon \$30,830,886, a total of \$58,067,398. This is the claim of the United States against the road and which should not be parted with for one cent less than its face value. For this interest of the government and for the cash and bonds in the sinking fund, the Reorganization Committee proposes to pay \$50,000,000. But as in the sinking fund there is \$4,537,216 of cash and \$13,645,250 of bonds, government and railroad, worth more than par, there will be at once returned to the syndicate by the government, cash and securities, to the value of at least \$18,182,466, so that the net sum received by the government for its claim of \$58,067,398 will be \$31,817,534, a loss to the government and a virtual gift to the reorganization committee of \$26,249,864.

And now one word as to the locking up of money in the Treasury that will result from this sale. \$50,000,000 the syndicate must pay into the Treasury but at once gets back the \$4,537,266 of cash in the sinking fund. This leaves \$45,462,784 that the Reorganization Committee must pay into the Treasury in cash. But in January next the government bonds issued to the Union Pacific to an amount of \$27,236,512—for which the government received a second mortgage on the road of like amount, and which second mortgage securing this principal and defaulted interest thereon is now to be sold—fall due and must be paid, so that of the \$45,462,784 cash paid into the Treasury by the Reorganization Committee, \$27,236,512 must be paid out, thus, after final payments are made, leaving an amount of \$18,226,272 to be piled up in the Treasury. Now to withdraw such sum from the New York banks would force a contraction of loans that would mean a drastic shrinkage in prices. Therefore the reason of importing gold from abroad to make the payments.

THE British Government has found excuse for postponing its answer to the proposals for the restoration of bimetallism made by the Wolcott commission and French Ambassador to England last July, which answer was to have been given early in October. This excuse is the arrangement of an informal conference between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, other British officials and the Wolcott commission to give Britain a better understanding of what the United States and France expect regarding bimetallism. There seems to be a sincere desire on the part of the British Government to make a favorable reply, but to the making of such reply one thing stands in the way, the Indian Government is opposed to the reopening of the Indian mints. Of course the British Government could override the wishes of the Indian Government but that it will do so is not probable. Further time is asked now in the hope that the Indian Government may be prevailed upon to change its stand. Then one other thing may well cause the British Government to hesitate; uncertainty as to whether President McKinley would stand by the proposals of the Wolcott commission.

Meanwhile the gold press in the United States gloats over the failure of the Wolcott commission, in which gloating the

New York *Tribune* is foremost. It tells us how Mr. McKinley has done all he could do to further international bimetallism, that "the United States has not embarrassed negotiations." But the United States has embarrassed negotiations. President McKinley deliberately embarrassed them when he sent his monetary commission message to Congress last July. And before he sent that message, when it looked as if he would not send it in at all, the *Tribune*, defending such a course, deliberately asserted that to send in such a message would be to embarrass negotiations, "that the President has sent a commission to Europe, charged with the duty of negotiating in regard to the larger use of silver money, and representatives of all other nations have a right to suppose that the United States is not unwilling to adjust its own monetary system with some regard to any result the negotiations may bring about," and that it would be lacking "in good faith if the United States should meanwhile proceed to strike out a new currency system for itself, without even the delay necessary to ascertain whether foreign nations are prepared to negotiate" for bimetallism. And this is what Mr. McKinley asked Congress to authorize a monetary commission to do.

THE recall of General Weyler from Cuba signalizes his failure with 200,000 Spanish troops at his back, to subdue the rebellion. He leaves Cuba with this army that Spain has made such heroic sacrifices to maintain, decimated, according to his own reports, by one-half. And what General Weyler could not effect with 200,000 troops, how can his successor, General Blanco, accomplish with half as many ill-fed, ill-satisfied, unpaid troops? The withdrawal of General Weyler would seem to be the beginning of the end; it must surely be, for when Congress meets in December recognition of the Cubans as belligerents, if not of free, independent Cuba, cannot long be delayed. It was only delayed at the special session because Mr. Reed refused to appoint the committees and let the House organize for general business.

Our relation to Cuba after independence is secured will be the most troublesome question. It is reassuring to note that Senator Davis, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, does not "think annexation would be desirable immediately," but that "if Cuba were free there would be 250,000 American residents on the island within ten years," which "would insure conditions which would make annexation desirable." The Latin island must be Americanized before we can think of admitting Cuba into the sisterhood of our States.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

WHY there should be any opposition to the principles of Direct Legislation it is hard to understand. In truth, there is no open opposition of any account, for it would take a courage that is not possessed by the average politician to get up on the stump and tell our people that they are not fitted to govern themselves; that they are not capable of discerning between good laws and bad laws; that they must delegate to politicians the art of governing. The stump speaker who made such assertions would not be a vote winner, and, needless to say, the opponents of direct legislation do not want such speakers on the stump. It would not be politic to employ such speakers, and they are not employed.

So we do not find avowed opposition to direct legislation on the stump. Nor do we find frank opposition in the slavish metropolitan press controlled by those who purpose that our people should be governed for the profit of the few and the enslavement of the many. Discussion of the principles of direct legislation is shunned, for more is to be gained by silence than discussion. Sometimes it is wiser to hide purposes than to avow them. It is ever wiser when the purposes aimed at are conceived

for the profit of the few to the detriment of the many, and when the many must be appealed to in order to carry such purposes into effect.

In order that the masses of our people may be governed for the benefit of the few, it is necessary that the many have no direct hand in their own governing. It is necessary that the many delegate to representatives the art of governing, and that such representatives should be influenced so as to become the representatives of the few, in order that governing may be carried on for the advantage of rulers, not of ruled, for it is folly to suppose that men, directly governing themselves, would govern themselves knowingly to their own detriment and the profit of others.

So the opposition to direct legislation among those who design to make of our government an instrument for the oppression of the many and the enrichment of the few, an opposition that is covert, for to avow it would be to make it ineffective. In order to promote the governing of our people by the few and for the few, promote legislation that will impoverish and weaken the many but aggrandize the few in riches and power, it is necessary that law-making should be entrusted to representatives, that those representatives should be put more and more out of touch with the people and more in touch with the few, that those representatives should be removed further and further from responsibility to the people, that their doings should be hidden and not subject to review. So we have demand for extended tenure of office, we have opposition to the selection of Senators by popular vote, we have opposition to the selection of judges other than by appointment, we have above all opposition to the referendum which would make all laws passed by legislative bodies subject to review and reversal by a higher court, the court of the whole people entering verdict through the ballot box.

It is true our people have in an indirect way the power to reverse the acts of their representatives by turning down such representatives when they come up for re-election and selecting new men, pledged to undo the obnoxious acts. But the tendency is to circumscribe this power, to put it beyond the power of the people to condemn distasteful acts of their representatives while approving satisfactory acts. In the nature of things the distasteful must be condoned if the satisfactory acts are to be approved or, *vice versa*, if the distasteful are to be condemned so must be the satisfactory. Representatives must be turned down when they seek re-election or they must be returned. If they are returned their faults are overlooked; there can be no pledge that the obnoxious legislation that they passed will be repealed, indeed a certainty that they will not repeal their own acts. Or if they are defeated it is prone that their good works will suffer a tearing down at the hands of their successors along with the bad.

Moreover, in campaigns for re-election some one act of legislation, some one issue will inevitably overtop others and the contest will be decided on that issue. So it happens that the people have the opportunity to pass judgment on that one act, that the opportunity of passing upon other acts, of reversing such minor acts as are not conceived in their interest, is closed to them. So the need of entrusting our people with direct power to reverse the acts of their representatives, of referring to the people, for final judgment, all acts of legislative bodies where such reference is demanded by any considerable body of voters. In no other way can the people exercise effective control over legislation, protect themselves against legislation conceived for the benefit of the few and the injury of the many and keep a direct hand in their own governing that will enable them to effectively prevent the directing of government in the interest of the few.

We have said that there is little outward opposition to the principles of direct legislation. That there is much covert opposition and for reasons we have seen is undoubted. There is, too, a placid opposition, born of ignorance. It is this opposition that

the only true opponents of direct legislation bend their efforts to build up. They build it up by keeping silence, now and then entering a wedge of ridicule and misrepresentation. Thus an unthinking opposition has been built up to direct legislation. We find men dreading the very words initiative and referendum. If they understood the meaning of such words they could not dread them, unless, indeed, they would dread the right of governing themselves, dread the circumscribing of the powers of politicians to direct the government so that the people might have a direct voice in their own governing, for this is what direct legislation means.

We do not want to be harsh, but he who, understanding, opposes direct legislation is no better than a monarchist for he holds that the people are not fitted to govern themselves, that the few are fitted by divine law to rule; that the many are condemned to be ruled for the benefit of the few by a law equally divine. This is the law of kings it is not the law of democracy. It does not breathe the spirit of our Declaration of Independence, he who holds it is false to our theory of government, a worthy monarchist, but an unworthy republican.

The United States was the first great republic founded on representative government. It was the first great attempt of a people to rule themselves through representatives. It was in a manner an experiment. There had been, indeed, republics, but they were not such as a great republic, covering a vast territory, could be fashioned after. In ancient Greece there were republics, but the Grecian republics were not representative governments. The suffrage in those republics, the citizenship, was limited, so limited, indeed, as to, in some cases, constitute almost an oligarchy. But those who were citizens and lorded it over their numerous slaves did not delegate the art of governing to anyone. Every man entitled to the rights of citizenship took, or could take, direct part in governing, in the making of laws. The laws, the policies of the republics were voted by the whole people, the right of making laws was not delegated to representatives. Then there was government by the people and for the people, that is the people who were not slaves and who did not count; the citizens, and every citizen, had a voice in the making of every law, then only such laws were enacted as a majority of the people desired, then no act not approved by a majority of the citizens stood a chance of adoption. Barring the disfranchisement of many men, the holding of many men as slaves, driven to toil for the profit of the few, those were ideal republics. The people governed themselves.

But such republics were small. It was possible for all the citizens to meet in assembly and discuss the public weal. On the larger theatre of the American continent this was impossible. So our fathers could not copy after such republics, such republics could not be followed after in the making of our national constitution. So the representative form of government was followed of necessity in the making of our Nation as it had been followed by the builders of the thirteen colonies. The form of government was not as representative as it could have been made, it was not as representative as it has since become. In the beginning of our federal government the House of Representatives was the only branch of the government directly representative of the people. The government was divided into three branches, legislative, executive and judicial, and only one-half of the first branch was directly responsible to the people. The other half of the legislative branch, the Senate, was chosen by the state legislatures; the executive, the President, was chosen by electors chosen in greater part by the state legislatures, the judges were selected by and responsible to the executive. Gradually the choosing of the President through the medium of electors fell into a mere form, though several states, down to the war, South Carolina even since the war, chose presidential electors not by popular vote but by vote of their legislatures. But now the President is practically voted for directly by the people of all the

states, and South Carolina, long backward, has gone in advance of her sisters, and now practically chooses her United States Senators by popular vote, the legislature being required to register the verdict of the people by electing to the Senate the man picked out by the vote of the people. The same, we believe, is true of Nebraska but in the rest of our states Senators are still chosen at second hand, not by the vote of the people, but by the state legislatures.

So for a time the tendency has been to make our form of Government more representative, to bring our representatives into closer touch with the people, that they might more closely register the people's wishes. But it must be admitted that there is powerful opposition to further change in this direction, an opposition coming from men who design that the country should be governed for their self-interest, and who know that the further representatives may be removed from the people the easier it must be to control them, and naturally men opposed to this are opposed to direct legislation by the people, for such men cannot hope to direct government in the interest of the few when the many do their own governing. To influence representatives to sacrifice the interests of their constituents is possible, to influence governed to sacrifice their own interests when governing themselves is next to impossible. It must, indeed, ever be possible to blind men to their true interests for a time and so prevail upon them, even when governing themselves, to sacrifice their interests, but they cannot be influenced to do so knowingly, or prevented, if they had the power of direct legislation, from undoing an injury unwittingly done themselves.

In the small towns of New England we see the people governing themselves in local matters, passing their own local laws, voting their own local improvements, voting taxes and the expenditure of money. All this they do in town meeting, and not through representatives. Thus we have the people deciding for themselves what is good for them in matters of local government and what is not, and not delegating this decision to representatives. And now we ask are the liberties of those people threatened, are their affairs mismanaged because they manage them themselves? If not, direct legislation applied to the government of the nation could not be subversive of good government.

No one who believes the people are fitted to govern themselves, capable of discerning what laws are good and what bad, can honestly oppose direct legislation, which means nothing less than government by and for the people. It is obvious that in the broad sphere of the nation we cannot have direct legislation as it is had in the New England towns. The people of the United States cannot meet in town meeting to discuss and then decide on the conduct of the affairs of the nation. So they must delegate representatives to meet where the whole people cannot meet, to act when there is not time for the whole people to act. But the whole people can discuss together the affairs of the nation even if they cannot meet together, for the telegraph brings them together in point of time and thought, and just as they can intelligently discuss the affairs of the nation even as they could if meeting together, so they are fitted to decide what will promote, what retard, the weal of the whole country. And so fitted, they are fitted to have the right to directly supervise the acts of their representatives, to veto any act passed by their legislators that they dislike, to enact any law over the heads of their representatives, that their representatives, influenced by the rich and powerful, refuse to enact in response to popular demand.

And these rights are not fully conserved through representative government, for representatives, as all men, are amenable to influences at the command of wealth and might, and when separated from their constituents are prone to put the demands of their new surroundings ahead of the rights of those whom they ought to represent, are prone to succumb to the blandishments of surroundings and become the representatives of the moneyed

interests rather than of the interests of the people. So comes the question: How to conserve to the people their rights to reverse the acts of their representatives or pass acts over the heads of their representatives, and so preserve the right of governing themselves? The answer is direct legislation. But how in a great country, where men cannot meet together, discuss and act together face to face, can we have direct legislation? The answer is through the initiative and referendum. And what is the meaning of these words that should be familiar to everyone, but are not because the public press, controlled by moneyed oligarchy, takes pains to hide their meaning, for familiarity with the terms would mean adoption of the principles?

The referendum is not novel. We have it in practice. We only need to extend it and systematize it so that the people may call it into operation to veto any obnoxious law. Referendum means simply referring to the people for final judgment. The national Constitution, nearly all our state constitutions were referred to the people for approval or rejection, and being so adopted they have greater force than mere statute laws, they have the force of the referendum. And as it was with the original drafts of the constitutions, amendments are subject to the referendum, only have the force of law after the approval of popular vote.

So, also, do we often refer to the people questions of increased indebtedness. We are to have a referendum in Philadelphia upon the question of an increase of public debt at the coming election. Select Council has also voted to refer the proposition to lease the city gas works to the people. This again is the referendum.

We repeat, the referendum is not novel in our government. The trouble is that it is alone possible for politicians to appeal to it, that the people cannot. To put it in the power of the people to appeal to the referendum, and so reverse obnoxious laws of legislative bodies, is the present need. And how can this be done, how is it proposed that it should be done? Simply that the right be conferred upon any considerable body of voters, say 5 per cent. of the body of registered voters, to demand by petition the submission of any act of legislation to popular vote, such act to fall unless upon the popular vote so demanded, a majority voting approve it. Thus it would be put in the power of the people to reject obnoxious laws, be impossible for conscienceless city councilmen, or state legislators, aye national Congressmen, to sacrifice the interests of the people despite protest.

And now as to the initiative: how could this be worked? We are told it is impossible for the people to frame their own laws, that they must employ skilled law makers. But suppose this is so how does it interfere with the principle of the initiative in legislation? The people desiring legislation that their representatives refused to enact, would, under the initiative, frame the act desired, it would be the work of skilled not unskilled hands, hands employed if necessary, and it would be required that upon petition of a certain recognized number of voters; the act so framed should be submitted to a popular vote. If approved, it would become the law of the land, a law that could only be repealed as it was enacted, namely, by popular vote. Of course, the repeal of laws already on our statute books could be accomplished in the same way and thus the people be given control over their own law making.

Such is the initiative and referendum. It should be applied to states and nation alike. The adoption of the system would not require of necessity constitutional amendments, federal or state, though adoption by constitutional amendment would be best. Constitutional requirements could be gotten over by keeping to the form, as South Carolina has gotten over constitutional requirements proscribing the election of Senators of the United States by the legislatures of the states. And so could the initiative and referendum be put in practical operation in the nation by Congress passing a law pledging itself to pass all laws subject to popular approval at the ballot box, and to submit to a popular vote any

legislation initiated by the people and abide by the popular vote on such legislation by enacting into law any act thus receiving popular approval. But such act of Congress giving practical effect to the initiative and referendum would only have a moral force on Congressmen. It would ever be in their power to repeal such law. Congressmen wishing its repeal would only be held to it by inability to muster sufficient courage to meet a storm of popular disapprobation. Therefore the preference for constitutional amendment in putting into effect the initiative and referendum.

In conclusion, we have but to repeat that direct legislation must come, for only an understanding of what is meant by initiative and referendum is needed to win approval from all but monarchists. Those who believe in government of, by and for the people, who believe that the people are fitted to govern themselves, capable of discerning that which is good for them and that which is not, must approve.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS, WHY, WHY NOT?

THE deposits in the savings banks of the United States exceed, by several hundred millions of dollars, the deposits in the savings banks of all other countries combined. And the United States is the only enlightened country in the world, save Switzerland, provided with Cantonal (State) savings banks, and Germany, provided with municipal savings banks, that is not possessed of a postal savings bank system. So it seems that the savings banks in the United States and in private hands have succeeded better than the postal savings banks in foreign lands. And because of this unequalled growth of savings banking in the United States it is hastily assumed that our privately conducted system fills all wants, that the establishment of a postal savings system in the United States would confer no benefit upon our people, that the present savings banks provide our people with all the facilities for saving that are needed, that our people have perfect faith in the present banks and that the establishment of postal savings banks is not desirable.

But comparisons between our privately conducted savings banks and the postal savings banks of other countries, showing that the increase of savings deposited in savings banks in the United States has been more rapid than the increase of savings deposits under the postal savings systems of other countries do not show the superiority of our system or the inferiority of the postal savings system. Such comparisons indicate nothing more than that our people are more energetic, produce more wealth with the same amount of labor, earn more and save more than any other people. The only reasonable way to measure the success of postal savings banks, and the regard in which they may be held as compared to private savings banks, is by comparing the growth of postal savings banks in competition with private savings banks.

Such comparison can be made in Great Britain where postal savings banks were established in 1861. Since then the postal savings system has been steadily perfected, and postal savings banks have steadily grown while the private savings banks have stood still. Take for comparison the period 1881-1895. December 31, 1881, there were 2,607,612 depositors in the postal savings banks; December 31, 1895, 6,453,597. In the private savings banks there were 1,532,486 depositors on the former date, 1,516,229 on the latter. And of deposits the postal savings banks held £36,194,496 December 31, 1881, and £97,868,975 December 31, 1895. Deposits in the private savings banks were £44,140,116 on the former date, £45,312,681 on the latter. So we see how the postal savings banks have outstripped the private. And why? Simply because the British working people regard the postal savings banks as safer and offering greater facilities and advantages than the private banks.

For the benefit of those who are affrighted by the very mention of the word socialism, and who oppose the establishment of postal savings banks in the United States as socialistic, but are prone to look up to British ideas and policies as superior to American, to regard anything British as the acme of perfection, it may be well to add that the British post office department has engaged not only in the savings banking business, but the insurance business, the brokerage business and the telegraph business. If those who toady to things British would keep this in mind they might quiet some of their fears and take with good grace the establishment of postal savings banks in the United States which is sure to come at an early date.

As we have said, the British Government is, through the postal savings banks, the people's savings bank, through the same system the people's insurance company and the people's broker for the purchase and sale of government consols (bonds) and life annuities. And the insurance business is conducted so as to protect the unfortunate, not defraud the unfortunate, as is the practice of our life insurance companies. In our great insurance companies the man who insures his life and defaults in some annual payment too often loses all he has paid in; the British Government gives full credit for all payments in the event of default.

The British Government only does insurance business on a small scale; it only issues small policies, but it never takes advantage of any misfortunes that may overtake the policy holders.

Because Great Britain has adopted the savings banking system is indeed no reason why we should adopt it. We ought not to take things merely because they are British, or refuse them because they are not. But we should profit by British experience, by the experience of all other nations, and the fact that postal savings banks have served the needs of the people of foreign lands better than private banks should certainly incline us to give trial to a postal savings system. Once give it trial and its advantages will become so manifest, it will take such deep hold upon the affections of our people that it will never be abandoned.

So, even if our present savings banks gave ample facilities for the deposit of savings, gave ample security to depositors and encouragement to saving, there would be good reason for the establishment of a postal savings bank system, for no work of man is so good that something better cannot be devised, and even if our present savings system was satisfactory, we should spare no pains to make it better. But it is not satisfactory, does not give the fullest security to depositors against loss, does not provide ample facilities for making deposits, does not encourage saving as a postal savings system would.

Our attention is often directed to the great increase of savings deposits in the United States, a growth unparalleled in any other nation, a growth that is put forward as an argument against postal savings banks. Such unparalleled growth shows, we are told, that we have no need of postal savings banks, that our people have all the facilities for the deposit of savings that they require. But let us analyze the accumulation of savings deposits in the United States. In the year 1895-96, (no specific date can be given, for the reports of the different savings banks gathered by the Comptroller of the Currency of the United States are for different dates) the deposits in the savings banks of the United States were \$1,907,156,277, the property of 5,065,494 depositors. It is worthy of remark that the number of depositors in the British postal savings banks, somewhat exceeds this number though the aggregate of deposits is little more than one-fourth the sum total in our savings banks.

And now let us see where the great deposits of savings in the United States were held. Of the total of \$1,907,156,277, \$1,494,688,454 were made in the banks of New England and New York, leaving the savings banks in the rest of the country with only \$412,467,823 of deposits. Now what is the reason for such

unequal distribution of savings deposits? It may be that the people of New England and New York are richer and more frugal than the people in the rest of the country, but it is significant that the average distance of savings banks from post offices was, in 1892, according to the report of Mr. Wanamaker, then Postmaster General, 10 miles in the New England States, 26 miles in the Western States, 33 miles in the Southern, 52 miles in the Pacific States. Now it may well be that the demand for postal savings banks in such Western, Southern and Pacific States was not sufficient to warrant the establishment of more private savings banks. But the fact remains that the people of those states had not the same facilities for the deposit of savings as the people of New England. Hence, the need of postal savings banks in those states. The want of them discouraged saving, for with present facilities the opportuning of depositing savings is not open to many of the people in those states.

In short, our present savings system offers facilities in the centres of population, offers no facilities where population is scattered. Nor does it give that perfect security that encourages men to save. And finally, our savings institutions, though for the most part mutual companies, in which there are no stockholders, the managers acting merely as trustees holding the property of the savings funds for the benefit of the depositors and presumably managing that property for the mutual profit of depositors, are not managed as economically as they should be. There is an eye to personal profit as well as the profit of the depositors. Moreover, now and again, the moneys of the savings funds are diverted to improper uses, for example, contributions to political campaign funds. And this should not be, for it deprives depositors of the full enjoyment of the earnings of their savings. Hence, the need for postal savings funds: to establish places of deposit convenient to all our people, something that the privately conducted banks do not do; to insure absolute security to depositors against loss so long as the nation lives; to secure to the depositors the fullest enjoyment of the earnings of their savings, and so encourage the laying by of savings.

Such are the reasons for the establishment of postal savings banks. And now as to the second question: Why not postal savings banks? It is asserted that their establishment would interfere with private enterprise, take away business from the privately conducted savings funds. But if our mutual savings banks are conducted for the profit of depositors, and depositors alone, as they should be, the managers of such mutual savings funds should welcome the establishment of postal savings funds; welcome anything that bids fair to profit their depositors. That they do not shows that they put self-interest before the interests of their depositors, think more of their salaries than of the interests of those they are appointed to guard over, are ready to purchase a continuance of such salaries by opposing the true interests of their depositors. So, opposing the establishment of postal savings banks they furnish an argument for such establishment.

There is, then, no good objection to the establishment of postal savings banks. The demand for their establishment is irrepressible. Populists are no longer alone in advocacy of a postal savings system, Republicans and Democrats, gold monometallists even, bow to the rising popular demand. So the prospect of the early establishment of postal savings banks is good. But there is one thing that the advocates of postal savings funds must resist, one thing they must insist on. They must resist the proposition for the loaning of the postal savings deposits as accumulated to the national banks, a proposition put forward in 1892 by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, they must insist that the government invest such deposits for the benefit of depositors in government, state or municipal bonds; that the money accumulated through the postal savings banks shall be used solely for the profit of the depositors of such savings, not for the profit of national banks.

THE UPWARD MOVEMENT OF PRICES.

WE PRESENT this week THE AMERICAN's usual quarterly summary of index numbers indicating the extent of the upward movement of prices during the quarter ending October 1st. A study of this exhibit brings home some striking but not overacceptable truths to which we have pointed on many occasions. There has been a great rise in food stuffs but little or none in manufactured goods or the raw materials entering into manufacture, save raw wool which, affected by tariff changes, has risen very materially. And this indicates but one thing. Despite the rise in agricultural prices farmers are not spending more for manufactured goods, hence there is no marked increase in demand and no room for a rise in prices. And they are not spending more money because they cannot. They have not got it and we fear will not get it, for though wheat has risen much in price and other food products considerably, the corn crop, the farmer's greatest crop, is very short. So a falling off in quantity bids fair to eat up an increase of price, thus leaving the average farmer no better off despite the increase in price for food products.

Then the other great agriculturist, the planter, is worse off than a year ago. There was a rise in the price of cotton a couple of months ago but before any new cotton was picked all the gain in price and more was lost, so that the cotton planter will probably get from \$5 to \$8 less a bale for this year's cotton crop than he got a year ago. And this will more than eat up any increase in value coming from the larger crop. So there is good reason for disappointment in the demand for manufactured goods.

For a time there was an increased wholesale demand for manufactured products. Merchants, regarding the hopeful predictions of the metropolitan press and recognizing the increase in prices for farm products, came to the not unnatural conclusion that the demand for manufactured goods would increase and prices rise. So the demand for such goods was active for a time. But now comes disappointment in the retail demand for such goods. Farmers and planters cannot buy. And this is followed by a pause in the wholesale demand for manufactured goods, indeed inability of merchants to take and pay for the goods they ordered, consequently an accumulation of goods on manufacturers' hands and a recession in prices.

This feature of trade has been especially marked during the last three weeks. In fine, the general trend of prices is no longer upward but downward. As the Philadelphia Press remarks, "retail trade has slackened or is failing to meet expectations, and the first rush for goods by the jobbers in August and September has been succeeded by a pause." And again "relatively, there is more demand for expensive than for medium articles in all lines." The speculators in stocks and grain feel richer because of the general advance in prices and they are buying more, but the farmers and planters and wage earners generally are not richer, are not buying more, and the expected increased demand for manufactured goods of ordinary use is not increasing. So we have price recessions, and price recessions mean an increase of failures. And further recession in prices is promised.

This is not a bright prophecy, but we do not make it with the ghoulish glee of the pessimist who gloats in disaster. We would rather make a cheerful prophecy but conditions do not warrant. We warn men to prepare for contraction in prices so as to minimize the losses inseparable therefrom. The unvarnished facts are that the failure of the food crops in France, in Eastern Europe, in India, Argentina and Australia, made an increased demand for our food crops and led to a general advance in prices. A similar cause, failure of food crops abroad, led to an advance in prices for agricultural products at this time last year. This will be seen by reference to our tables showing an advance in

the index number for breadstuffs from 55.70 on July 1, 1896 to 68.46 on January 1, 1897, and an advance in the index number for live stock that did not culminate until last spring. But this increase in prices did not bring more money to our farmers for two reasons: first, because they had disposed of the better part of what they had to sell before the advance in prices came, and second because the wheat crop was short. Consequently no increased demand for manufactured goods materialized. Such products went on falling despite the advance in agricultural prices. And then with the breaking of the present year prices for agricultural products began to fall for men looked forward to the new harvest year to supply their wants.

But the new harvest year, that is the present, turned out worse than last, and when this became apparent prices commenced to mount upwards. Hence the rise in prices for food products during July and the very rapid rise during August. But now again men begin to look forward to the harvests that will be garnered in the southern hemisphere in December next. And those harvests promise well. So the upward tendency of prices for grain has been checked, wheat falling despite the disappointment of the wheat yield in our north-western states, corn falling despite the acknowledged shortage of the crop. And because of this shortage in the corn crop it is very probable that this year's crops will bring our farmers no more, perhaps less, money than last year's, and last year's crops brought less money than the crops of the year before. So the probabilities are that there will come no increased demand for manufactured goods from the agricultural community, surely there will come no increased demand from the cotton region of the south.

Therefore there is no reason to look for an increased demand or better prices for manufactured goods in the immediate future. On the contrary, there is reason to look for lower with the approach of next year's harvests, for there is no reason to suppose that the crops in Europe next year will be below the normal, there is every reason to expect that the crops in Argentina and Australia to be garnered in the coming winter will be bountiful and with such crops prices for agricultural products will fall, farmers will suffer in credit, will not dare to increase purchases even if they could; then will come lessened consumption of manufactured products on the farm and plantation and hence lower prices for such products.

And in this connection let us say that our farmers, even the most favored with bountiful wheat crops, have not had money to reduce their indebtedness by the great sums of which we are told. Thus we are told of the farmers of Nebraska paying off millions of mortgages. Millions of mortgages have indeed been cancelled but they have been cancelled by the mortgage companies foreclosing the mortgages. On investigation we find that more new mortgages have been made in Nebraska during the present year than have been paid off. The mortgage indebtedness of Nebraska is \$318,000 greater to-day than it was a year ago. So we see there has been no reduction of farm indebtedness in Nebraska save by foreclosures. And reduction of indebtedness in this way indicates anything but farming prosperity. Farmers who have lost their all by foreclosure sale are not promising purchasers for manufactured goods. Of course these foreclosure sales are the results of defaults not in this year but during the last three or four.

So, to recapitulate, the great rise in agricultural prices during the past quarter has resulted from crop failures abroad, yet it is doubtful if our farmers will realize more money this year than last, because of shortage in some crops. And further, with the approach of the new harvest year, agricultural prices are likely to fall. This is plain, unvarnished fact No. 1, as concerning the probability of a general and sustained advance in prices for manufactured goods. In short, the probability of an increased consumption of manufactured goods by our agricultural population and of increased prices from this cause is slim. And unvarnished

fact No. 2 is that the raising of the tariff duties by the enactment of the Dingley tariff is not likely to broaden the demand for manufactured goods of domestic make, so as to materially raise prices, for the reason that the loss in demand for the products of our mills which has resulted in the great fall of prices of the last few years has grown out of the decreased purchasing power of the agricultural community, not out of the substitution of goods of foreign for goods of domestic make.

Such being the facts, there is no cause for surprise that there has come no general advance in prices for manufactured products. There has come no true increased demand for such products, nothing but a speculative demand that is exhausting itself; the agricultural classes are not increasing their purchases of manufactured goods, and the increased retail demand for manufactured goods expected by those wholesale dealers who ordered goods on speculation has not materialized. Consequently, the men who ordered goods on such expectations and the manufacturers who made them are in anything but an enviable position. So long as the speculative demand was maintained and prices showed a tendency to rise, the course of merchants so buying and manufacturers so making goods, was easy. They built up their profits on paper, easily secured accommodation from the banks, and business disasters were few. *Bradstreet's* reports that the liabilities of those failing during the second quarter of the year, April to July, a period of falling prices, were \$41,662,013, during the third quarter, July to October, only \$24,828,164. Such is the contrast between conditions of falling and rising prices on the business health.

But now, the expected increased retail demand for manufactured goods failing to materialize, the wholesale speculative demand halts, and prices for such goods shrink, a shrinkage that is helped along by a curtailment of bank loans. And on top of this is the probability that prices for food products will go lower. So, all things considered, there is reason to suppose that the present check to the upward tendency of prices is more than temporary, that the lift to prices given by crop failures abroad has spent its force, that the trend of prices will be downward in the immediate future not upward, that we will experience not more revival but more industrial stagnation during the balance of this year and the year before us, that we will have to face an increase of business failures again, not a further diminution in the commercial death rate. Only a continuance of great gold imports, enabling our banks to extend accommodation and aid merchants to carry and manufacturers to carry the goods the people are too poor to buy, and enable stock speculators to continue to carry the stocks dumped on our markets by foreign holders, can avert an immediate crisis. The probability of such imports being kept up grows with the need.

And now one word as to the rise in prices during the quarter ending October 1st. Our index numbers show a rise in the level of general prices of nearly 9 per cent., the general index number for July 1st, last, being 76.33, for October 1st, 82.88. These index numbers indicate the percentage of fall in prices as compared with prices ruling January 1, 1891, and are based on quotations collated by Bradstreet's Commercial Agency. In

THE AMERICAN'S SUMMARY OF INDEX NUMBERS,

INDICATING THE MOVEMENT OF PRICES.

	Silver.	Breadstuffs, 6 Articles.	Live Stock, 4 Articles.	Provisions, 24 Articles.	Hides and Leather, 4 Articles.	Raw and Manufactured Textiles, 11 Articles.	Metals, 12 Articles.	Coal and Coke, 4 Articles.	Mineral and Vegetable Oils, 7 Articles.	Naval Stores, 3 Articles.	Building Materials, 7 Articles.	Chemicals, 11 Articles.	Miscellaneous, 7 Articles.	General Index Number, 100 Articles.
January 1, 1891	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
April 1	94.25	118.31	116.98	105.84	100.52	98.57	92.84	98.05	99.34	110.60	97.37	98.70	100.38	101.96
July 1	98.21	103.90	110.38	100.40	98.26	95.60	95.22	99.89	94.76	111.61	95.24	90.69	100.56	98.28
October 1	93.42	97.94	112.49	98.09	96.62	96.25	90.10	102.10	87.18	104.41	87.88	89.35	89.03	94.71
January 1, 1892	91.02	97.17	104.35	95.08	94.13	96.15	89.01	98.19	83.82	94.19	90.86	88.31	93.93	93.12
April 1	83.83	89.45	110.13	97.96	91.60	96.20	84.02	99.77	83.17	104.42	92.81	85.64	91.31	92.87
July 1	84.51	92.58	113.53	97.56	95.28	97.50	81.99	100.02	81.42	88.57	89.58	87.03	99.58	92.85
October 1	79.76	82.77	104.88	104.24	94.32	95.89	81.93	103.46	84.88	84.17	90.02	88.04	95.82	93.60
January 1, 1893	79.52	80.59	119.68	113.45	93.47	105.41	80.24	103.94	92.10	81.24	90.57	90.05	104.70	98.42
April 1	80.	79.99	125.28	115.84	95.28	102.92	81.26	97.72	98.23	81.99	87.91	92.74	109.29	99.75
July 1	69.94	73.62	110.01	109.32	92.76	90.62	77.09	94.43	90.81	79.63	85.34	89.69	100.69	93.39
October 1	71.62	74.32	108.34	107.34	90.44	84.41	74.16	92.41	90.19	77.11	83.71	89.52	100.42	91.43
January 1, 1894	65.87	68.46	101.33	97.45	89.28	86.89	67.93	89.77	90.89	75.87	86.33	88.18	97.03	87.59
April 1	58.21	70.38	97.78	92.97	89.90	79.49	66.11	85.98	92.09	77.34	80.05	89.25	90.76	84.70
July 1	60.59	74.32	92.42	93.70	83.57	78.31	66.13	83.11	92.86	89.39	78.71	85.96	91.45	84.40
October 1	60.84	69.08	101.57	97.68	86.38	74.32	64.25	79.82	90.46	81.64	75.12	79.89	82.89	82.81
January 1, 1895	57.51	70.58	84.88	91.79	90.19	69.18	59.99	78.33	91.23	76.32	81.84	77.76	79.62	79.74
April 1	64.67	72.45	104.41	97.31	96.48	69.68	60.26	79.34	100.26	85.65	79.05	76.77	74.51	82.59
July 1	63.95	75.83	100.54	93.59	131.99	74.53	69.10	81.53	108.18	87.85	80.68	76.38	81.87	86.05
October 1	64.31	62.53	79.54	86.56	132.36	81.48	75.82	89.36	102.85	88.10	82.40	77.95	86.68	84.88
January 1, 1896	63.95	59.59	73.83	85.93	107.07	79.06	67.42	96.97	108.22	81.19	87.40	96.27	91.14	85.29
April 1	65.39	63.73	68.47	83.60	97.74	73.08	67.25	90.85	99.01	82.66	88.22	82.86	90.15	81.29
July 1	66.23	55.70	73.29	78.64	101.28	72.34	67.11	93.73	*91.67	94.28	85.67	81.70	82.11	†78.81
October 1	63.50	59.94	69.23	79.16	95.12	77.88	64.83	90.95	*89.66	91.42	82.38	79.21	82.92	†78.84
January 1, 1897	62.16	68.46	77.32	82.63	108.92	75.41	62.69	89.59	*85.07	90.99	86.76	77.64	84.43	†79.95
April 1	59.52	64.25	83.94	84.15	111.49	73.58	60.66	84.85	*86.63	91.27	78.21	80.69	80.84	†79.38
July 1	57.60	61.60	75.86	78.62	106.07	74.09	59.10	85.12	*83.51	86.06	78.25	76.67	79.79	†76.33
October 1	52.69	71.88	82.45	90.21	116.09	74.99	61.16	105.79	*81.83	92.81	79.18	82.49	85.91	†82.88

*Six Articles. †Ninety-nine Articles.

other words, the index number 82.88 indicates that \$82.88 had as great a purchasing power, that is would buy as much of commodities in general on October 1, last, as \$100 on January 1, 1891. This shows a general fall in prices of 17.12 per cent. since the latter date. The index numbers for the different groups, of course, indicate the average fall or rise in prices of the commodities in that group as compared to prices ruling January 1, 1891.

Lack of space forbids us to give the index number for each article taken for comparison, and we therefore content ourselves with a presentation of a summary of index numbers showing the general movement of prices by groups. But it is proper to state that only sixteen of the ninety-nine articles taken for comparison were lower in price on October 1st than on July 1st, only four of which can be considered as prime staple products—to wit, nutt, cotton, pig iron and crude petroleum. Many manufactured products show unchanged quotations. It is further noteworthy that but one group of articles shows a fall in general price level, that group being oils. But the significant thing about this fall is that it is a fall in the price of crude petroleum from ninety to seventy cents a barrel that is responsible for the fall, and that despite this great fall in crude oil the price of refined oil has remained unchanged. So much for the power of the Standard Oil Company to force down prices of crude oil to producers and keep up the price of refined to consumers. Still we are told of monopolies being of benefit to the people.

The general movement of prices by groups can be seen by reference to the annexed table. It will be seen that there has been a very material rise in bread stuffs and live stock, very naturally accompanied by a rise in provisions and hides and leather, the rise in this latter group being influenced by tariff changes. It will further be seen that the group comprising raw and manufactured textiles shows but little rise in price level, although that group comprises wool, which has advanced in price very materially. So, also, the group of metals and manufactured products shows little advance in price level. The coal and coke group, on the other hand, shows a very material advance and all other groups more or less advance in price level, excepting the group of oils which, as already stated, shows a fall.

The reader will find detail by referring to the table given herewith.

WORDS OF WISDOM.

“A LITTLE word in kindness spoken,
A motion or a tear,
Has often healed the heart that's broken,
And made a friend sincere.”

None of us know what is in us.

For the sake of the weak, let the strong be cheerful.

He who wants to cheat and can't, is no better than he who wants to cheat and can.

Avarice says: “I will oppress the weak and devour the fruits of his labors, and I will say that it is fate that has so ordained.”—*Volney*.

“When the working poor are paid in return for their labor only as much money as will buy them the necessities of life, their condition is identical with that of the slave who receives those necessities at first hand; the former we call ‘free men’ and the latter ‘slaves,’ but the difference is imaginary only.”—*John Adams*.

“Our strength grows out of our weakness. Not until we are pricked and stung and sorely shot at, awakens the indignation which arms itself with secret forces.”—*Emerson*.

THE EASTERN QUESTION AGAIN.

Something Unmentioned by Every Quill Driver—Fanning of the Embers of Pan Islamism the Black Spot on the Horizon—Presages the Eviction of Britannia from India—On the Banks of the Indus the Inevitable Contest for Supremacy Between British Lion and Russian Bear Will be Fought Out.

(Special correspondence to THE AMERICAN.)

THE Turco-Grecian quarrel has ended or is ending in a peace, disastrous to the young nation, but which was on the cards from the outset, given the elements of disaster with which the descendants of Homer's heroes were in opposition. The non-fulfillment of certain promises of aid and comfort, the sublime ignorance of his profession of their commander-in-chief, the numerical inferiority of their army, and, above all, the hostility of the Jews who foresaw, in a long continuance of the struggle, a depreciation in the value of the bonds of the original Greek loan, made this ending inevitable. Add to these a general and well grounded fear lest the petty Balkan States should enter the lists, on one side or the other, for these petty states are strictly eclectic, and might provoke a universal European conflagration, and you will have a clear idea of the reasons that prompt all the Continental Cabinets to interfere and impose on the vanquished those leonine conditions which, if they do not accept—so much the worse for themselves. But in this endeavor to extinguish the Pan-Hellenic fire, Europe has fanned the embers of another and more dangerous fire, the fire of Pan Islamism, and if Europe be ablaze one of these days, thence will come the spark.

So far, out of England, where the situation is appreciated, very little attention has been paid to the recent events of India. It is a mere local insurrection, pretended the British press, rightly judging that their gravity ought not to be admitted; only one of those little incidents so often occurring in colonial possessions, echoed the continental press, as a rule most ignorant of everything not within the limits of its own country. But, suddenly and when least expected, an important newspaper of St. Petersburg, the *Miror* *Olgolowski*, otherwise the *Echoes of the Universe*, comes out with a couple of articles on the situation of Central Asia, which, the aforesaid *Echoes of the Universe* being the official organ of the Russian Minister of Finance, caused considerable sensation among politicians. It is well known that Moslem fanaticism, always latent, has been stirred up by the recent victories of the Crescent over the Cross and only awaits a signal from the Commander of the Faithful to act openly, and so it happens that in England the present revolt, rebellion, or whatever you may call it of the Afridis, Mohmunds and consorts, is ascribed, partly to a manifestation of this fanaticism encouraged from Constantinople, partly to the underhand dealings of the Emir—not *Ameer* as the English write it—of Afghanistan, more or less in connivance with Russia. Not such is the view taken by the *Echoes*: “The rising of the tribes on the Indo-Afghan frontier,” it says, “is the fruit of that disloyal policy, of those systematic British provocations which, for two years past have threatened the tranquility of Asia. Failing to light a general conflagration on the shores of the Bosphorus, the Cabinet of St. James has sent its torch to Central Asia.” And hence the conclusion, clear and unequivocal: “Russia must boldly advance upon Herat; a rapid decision of the Minister of War is all sufficient to assure the success of such an enterprise.” It adds, “none but fools can take into consideration international law, when the question is with England, and if the occupation of Herat by Russia needs justification, we need only to point to the present insurrection gotten up by the British as a pretext to the annexation of Afghanistan, just as their expedition into the Soudan is made in complicity with the Mahdi.”

Once more is “perfidious Albion” denounced and this time by the organ of the Cabinet Minister of an Empire where the press is muzzled as a rule.

Now, is this march upon Herat merely a threat for the time being? It is a fatality in the future, but executed now and in the existing circumstances of European politics, it would be a fact of exceptional gravity. Not that there seems any imminent danger of that “duel between the elephant and the whale,”—Bismarck *loquitur*—which has been announced for the last half century. Too many questions would depend upon the issue of such a conflict, but it must be admitted that the situation has been very much stretched, and more than once; the British pretended to

defend India from the shores of the Bosphorus; the Russians asserted that the keys of the Dardanelles were at Calcutta.

At the close of the Crimean war, too late to be useful, the Russians attempted a diversion in India—the Sepoy mutiny—but only in 1885 did the conflict attain its apogee, and, for several weeks, war seemed inevitable. European diplomacy then averted this danger, but it must be admitted that if Mr. Gladstone, the avowed and systematic enemy of Islam, had succeeded in his plan, which was an alliance with the Turks, it would have been impossible to stop the march of the two armies. But if the danger is adjourned, it is only temporarily so; sooner or later the Cossacks and the Sepoys must come to blows, and in all probability the line of Herat will be the theatre of the sensational encounter of the two greatest of modern empires.

When Lord Clive and Warren Hastings founded an empire more vast than that of the Grand Mogul, neither of them imagined that their successors might one day meet the Moscovites of the Volga and the Don. Yet, since Peter the Great and Catherine II. those Moscovites have operated a steady, if slow, descent into the heart of Asia. When they had planted their flag on the tomb of Tamerlane, at Samarkand, they pushed forward seeking instinctively the Southern seas, toward the Indian Ocean, as they march eastward toward the Pacific and toward the Atlantic by the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Everywhere, in every direction Russia advances, but it is in Central Asia that her policy of conquest is most admirable for its methodical perseverance. To her first pioneers, succeeded her engineers, pushing forward that most powerful instrument of social and economical conquest the "iron horse" and constructing the two greatest of modern enterprises the Trans-Caucasian and Trans-Siberian railways. Russia has always followed her original program, and at dates seemingly explained, if not imposed by the circumstances of the hour. After the Crimean war and the conquest of the Caucasus, began their march toward the classic banks of the Oxus. It was when the treaty of Berlin had robbed Russia of the fruits of her Bulgarian victories that she began to move toward the Parapanesus, that Caucasus of India. In their march to the conquest of Turkestan and the steppes of the Kirghis, the Russians have simply obeyed that law, seemingly of natural necessity, which from the remotest antiquity has forced great nations to extend their domination over the barbarian tribes installed along their frontiers.

Will they succeed in this their supreme effort? This only future events can show, but at every new step made by them towards the Himalayas, we hear a shriek of alarm in England.

When, in 1872, Khiva was occupied, London demanded that Afghanistan should be instituted as a neutral zone—a "buffer State"—between Turkestan and India. In 1884, when Komaroff, Governor-General of the Trans-Caspian, annexed the oasis of Merv—the key to India—Calcutta, as well as London, quaked with emotion. The entire British Empire seemed a prey to that terrible malady, then called Mervosite, on the continent.

And now that their rivals are at the gates of Herat, and threaten by its capture the highway of invasion, will England act energetically, and can she dyke the rising tide?

For Britannia the question is strategic; is the line of Indian defence Herat, or is it between Kandahar and Cabul? The choice of this line at the decisive moment will decide the question of peace or war.

Pray understand that I do not consider the actual Indian insurrection as a very serious danger to British supremacy in Hindoustan. It is now merely a symptom, a warning of what may be expected should the great "White Tsar" make up his mind to move southward; but, when he does so decide, Britannia will be evicted within three months, as if she were merely an impecunious Irish tenant in arrears of rent.

PARIS, October 1, 1897.

It is not enough that honest men are appointed judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

Do You Want Gold?

Everyone desires to keep informed on Yukon, the Klondike and Alaskan gold fields. Send 10c. for large Compendium of vast information and big color map to Hamilton Pub. Co., Indianapolis, Ind.—*Adv.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Fighting Quaker in the Romance of the Revolution.

Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker; sometime Brevet Lieut. Col. on the Staff of His Excellency, General Washington. By S. WEIR MITCHELL. New York: The Century Company. 2 vols. \$2.

Certain French critics, with an American echo or two, are lifting themselves a few inches by stepping on the historical novel. It would not be respectful to their sanity to suspect them of any more tragic intent than to gain a little temporary prominence by thus inverting the true order of things. For want of better occupation they are trying to palm upon the public a very stale bit of common knowledge as a brand new discovery or revelation, the outcome of their strictly professional skill *plus* intuition of genius. This is, that the historical novel is more of a novel than a history. The fact that so simple a truism can be frothed up into signed articles in leading periodicals is a suggestive commentary on the artificiality of much contemporary journalistic literature. Let the whole squad of failures at fiction assail the historical novel from behind and below as enviously as they may, their popgun fire is scarcely likely to reach the target or in any degree disturb the multitude thronging around it. A sorry spectacle this of officious instructors of the common herd, microscopists in literary criticism and dwarfers of the free mind's stature, trailing weaklings on a false scent after the infinitely little, while the grand body of the spirit and of nature seems beyond their ken. The mission of wholesome fiction is not so narrow as too many of its apostles conceive it to be, nor so finicky as the retailers of imported Paris novelties in criticism are interested in trying to make it. When it has gone into the valley of dry bones called history, and has clothed the nobler frames with flesh and life, the art of fiction more nearly realizes the supreme creative power than when it works the wires of a stageful of marionettes, things of whim and mechanical skill. They pay but a poor compliment to their own discernment who think to depreciate this service of the great re-creators by anatomical criticisms, or by exhibiting a tinker's talent in spying weak points in coats of mail. The historical novel may be brilliant or poor as a work of art, but it is not to be mistaken for an inventory of old clothes nor for such a thing as the photo-phonographic concoctions of the French realistic school. There used to be a game in the young days of some of us which, now we come to think of it, may have been the making of these novelists. A tray on a small table was filled with miscellaneous articles in the room and covered with a napkin. This was taken off for a moment and then replaced and the game was to write down as many of the things as one remembered. The variety in quality of memories was astonishing; some could name all the trumpery items, oblivious of the larger ones, and these probably grew up to be realistic fictionists; some, who only managed to see the showier things, became sensational writers; and if there was one who was able to give an accurate general view of the articles in their relation to each other, but got his details mixed, he might develop into a historical novelist.

When any one of these pettifogger critics condescends to write a historical novel as he thinks it should be, if it proves to be anything better than a prosy catalogue of dates, facts, dummies and details, it will be because the practice has exploded the theory. Because they refrain, through inability, from setting the model, that refreshing fact gives them no title to impose silence on capable writers, nor to decry the most useful class of novels on the ludicrous plea that history cannot be put into story unless all the records are transcribed, equivalent to condemning a bust portrait because it lacks petticoats and finger rings, and denying the legitimacy of a landscape painting unless it shows worms wriggling in the grass.

Dr. Weir Mitchell brings trained skill as a narrator to his noble task of reproducing the great characters of a great time upon the stage of this book. What lends an extra interest to it is that the scenes are in and around Philadelphia, the author's native city in which his many honors, scientific and literary, have been won during a long life of versatile activity. The story is of local life in the time of the Revolution. Materials so rich and plentiful might appal as much as attract the writer ambitious to achieve a work worthy to be called national. They centre round, if they do not constitute, the heart of colonial America at the supreme crisis when it was throbbing into freer vitality. There is the aristocratic society of the pre-Revolution days, with the fast widening breach between its Whig and Tory

elements; and the stately Quaker caste, an *imperium in imperio*, beginning to quiver as to which allegiance; and the clash between foolhardiness in England and sturdy independence here, making splits in kinships and friendships; and the spirit-stirring scenes that grew so thickly as the temper of protest strengthened into militant fury. All these elements of a national epic are here woven into a well-compacted story, with a silken thread of love, and manly and womanly devotion, heroic in full proportions, lightening and lighting the sombre staple. The personages who figure in the drama are types of the stalwart women and men whose souls were not found wanting when tried by those sore times. Secondary to the Wynnes, whose chronicles make the story, but commanding an equal interest, are Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Benedict Arnold, Major Andre, and other recognizable portraits. The field of action reaches from the Brandywine and Valley Forge to Yorktown, and the history of Hugh Wynne from his youth in the fifties to his marriage in eighty-three. This breadth of canvas is filled in with a crowd of clearly drawn characters, some strong enough to be remembered at will, one or two unforgettable whether we wish it or not. The incidents small and great range from Hugh's childhood to fierce battles, with plentiful episodes of love-making, family quarrels and adventures by the way. Some will think the early chapters unduly spun out, as in point of craftsmanship they certainly are, but if lacking in blood and thunder interest they minister to the chaster taste for pictures of home life of a past time. The story purports to be autobiographical, and may be truly so in this particular. It is good to be carried back and made to know the inner life of such a typical Quaker family. Their austere rule, albeit sadly ruffled by the merry daughter of France who made a better mother for Hugh than helpmate for his over-rigid father; the constant clashing of the lad's fighting propensities with the principle of non-resistance, and his development between the antagonistic influences of his parents, his schoolmaster and masculine maiden aunt, together make a picture worth more than some of the noisier scenes of battle. Here we breathe the atmosphere of that olden time and see and hear the good people, old and young, in their habits of mind and body as they lived. Little touches of local lore crop out incidentally: This is the building George Whitefield preached in, though it is doubtful if the Wynnes spoke of him as "the great Whitefield;" and here is the bridge under which Mulberry street passed, near Front, whence the name of Arch street, as Sassafras street got changed to Race because of the horse races held in it; and we come upon Benjamin Franklin as the inventor of ear-wires to prevent spectacles slipping off the nose.

"It is a terrible set-back from right living to come of a hot-blooded breed like these Wynnes." This gives the key to the hero's character. It was spoken by his father when writhing in rage only half suppressed by obedience to conscience. He was burning to thrash one who had insulted him, which was the inheritance of Welsh Wynne depravity, but forbore, which he managed to do by virtue of his Quaker self-discipline. Hugh, his son, who writes the book, persevered in the path of non-resistance, honestly and bravely, until the stronger influences of love, self-respect and patriotism were too much for his fiery nature and burly physique. The ethics of the case can be studied as an underplot in the story. The Wynnes were an old propertied family in Wales, one branch having settled here because of the persecution which their head had endured because he had espoused the doctrines of George Fox. Pride of pedigree marks the narrative from the start. The master-portrait from the standpoint of art is Hugh's Aunt Gainor Wynne, a stately matronly Amazon with nothing of the old maid about her but the fact. This grand dame of the courtly air and masterful will, who moulded her nephew into her ideal of a fighting patriot in spite of his father's (her brother) Tory leanings, is as fine a study as could be wished of a type quite out of the common. Jack Warder, Hugh's ideal friend, is another stong delineation, and the father, from his first appearance as a strong but unlovely model of rectitude in morals and oppressive parental intolerance, through his weak attitude toward the villain of the piece, and on to the shattering of his proud faculties in premature senility, is one of the most impressive character-studies in recent fiction. Of the conventional heroine, Darthea (the real one is Aunt Gainor) and of her dalliance with the three lovers, Jack the angelic, Arthur the diabolic and Hugh the human, readers will form individual opinions, which will vary delightfully.

We do not attempt to outline the soldier adventures of Hugh Wynne. The Meeting House scene in which, by a trick of his father, he is virtually drummed out of the Whiggish Society into Free Quakerism is powerfully depicted, and deserves to rank

with the battle pieces as equally a transcript of history. Those who enjoy the clang of weapons, the sight of blood, and the reckless savageries of the field may have their fill, and allay any tender misgivings with the reflection that they are pursuing a strictly historical study under the skilled guidance of one who has made personal acquaintance with the records, the features of the fighting, and the lay of the ground. Hugh Wynne gets into the thick of many a scrimmage, gets caught and prisoned in the Libby of the period, and comes within an ace of perishing there like a dog, as his cousin Arthur, enemy both military and personal, deliberately schemes. How ultimately he triumphs over fate and foes must be traced in the story. Thanks to his aunt, he is honored with a staff appointment by General Washington, bringing him into contact with Hamilton, and, by a daring stroke of the author's genius, he is allowed to become the tool of Arnold's treachery, and the agonized pleader for Andre, to whose generosity he owed his life in an emergency. The author shows consummate skill in allotting place and speech to these high characters in the drama. Washington is the grand personality that towers above the early deifications which imperilled his merited fame; as His Excellency, dignified to frigidity, stern, noble in purpose and act; and when out of his trappings, a mortal like unto ourselves. There is no room for a full-length portrait of him in fiction, to attempt it would be to engulf the presumptuous venturer in a pit of his own digging. It needed a boldness beyond ordinary to venture even this Rembrandtesque sketch, half glare, half black shadow, after Thackeray's careful study in *The Virginians*, and in view of the unmistakable preference for a Washington looming, a lone, silent, majestic figure against the glow of his immortal achievement. The peril of belittling in the effort to magnify has been safely passed here. Still, there is risk in any voicing of any historic character's emotions in such situations as that of Washington when he refuses to pardon, or to modify the conditions of execution in the case of Andre at the entreaty of Wynne. Here, and in the General's farewell to his comrades at the close of the war, sympathy is due to authors who undertake to dramatize characters and scenes vaster than their stages can hold.

To press these considerations much further would be to forget the prime rule with which we set out, that a historical romance must not be criticised as a history. In its class "Hugh Wynne" will certainly hold a place of honor. It is likely to become a popular, because a helpful companion work to histories of the Revolutionary period, and perhaps because its sidelights have a higher value as history than its narrative has as romance. Its autobiographical form handicaps the author's art. The unavoidable egotism dulls our pleasure, and the device of quoting from his friend's diary when extra nice things have to be said about the hero, would succeed better if the two men did not think and write exactly alike. But these, with other minor lapses, are only literary defects which the majority will not notice nor mind if they do. The book is none the less a masterly work of a true artist, broadly conceived, broadly treated, massing the great historic events in proper proportion and between them the incidents of romance flow without break or confusion. If the devotees of Scott and Cooper miss the hysterical gasp and delirious thrill over word-pictures they will be abundantly compensated as they realize that the people, the period, the place and the author, like the tide, "too full for sound and foam," reflect the subdued but mighty forces below the surface, characteristic of Philadelphia then and now, which impelled a stripling nation to initiate its destiny of greatness.

Science in Spasms.

Thirty Strange Stories. By H. G. WELLS. New York: Edward Arnold. \$1.50.

For many years a well known London weekly periodical has found it profitable to run a series of stories entitled "queer." Poe made fame *minus* fortune by constructing his ingenious "Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque," with horrors liberally introduced. This collection of stories labelled "strange," is said to have won a very large circulation, as a certain class of newspapers do by their cultivated gift of expanding vulgar crimes into Zolaesque panoramas that harrow the souls of their slum constituents. It is easy to dismiss the steady demand for this product as only a phase of public taste, juvenile, or adult shallow-pate, but this does not meet the case. We of this generation demand more strongly spiced fare on our dining room and library tables than our forefathers and mothers had, which, of course, is a sign of laudable progress. True, they had strong books and potent liquors, but these were not brought out for immature

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palates, as now. The galloping progress we have made in mental stimulation shows in this direction of high-strung short stories, the little liver pills of light literature. By and by we shall get thrilling romances compressed into spasms, or fyttes, as the old balladists named their chapters of verse. There is evidently a large public who diet their intellects on lightning lunches of condensed "sensation," and as it would be a pity for even light feeders like these to starve, we welcome books like this, not so much in love as in sheer philanthropy.

To do the author justice it must be said that his writings are far above comparison with those of Zola and the gutter-journal school. They are clean, inoffensive and of the best workmanship. Granting that magnetic shocks are a boon and a blessing to the nervous system, these creepy stories must be manna from above to the reader who wanders hungering through the wilderness of untasted sound literature. As cocktails for old toppers with worn-out appetites, they doubtless have a limited mission, though here they are run close by foreign liquors. This much is due Mr. Wells, he has lifted the short sensational story upon a higher pedestal than even Poe did, not that he has greater strength, but he happens to have been born about the time Poe died. Poe tried his wits at the marvels possible to science, which in his hands was pseudo science and little else. Wells, singular to note, claims to be a product of strict scientific training. His success is that of turning the outlandish facts and reasonable surmises of science to the account of fiction, in a way peculiarly his own. His literary art is admirable, independently of the other, and it is worth while quoting some words of his spoken in a recent interview, as an original view of the relation of things that seem to differ. "I am convinced that a scientific education is the best possible training for literary work. Criticism is the essence of science, and the critical habit of mind an essential to artistic performance. If I have a critical faculty, it was developed during the year that I had at comparative anatomy. As Huxley taught it, comparative anatomy was really elaborate criticism of form, and literary criticism is little more." There is truth in this, but it is not all truth. Any serious study which develops the faculties will answer the purpose fully as well as the above prescription. We mention this in passing lest there should be a terrible rush from the universities to the coroners' autopsy theatres as a short cut to Parnassus. Besides, the power to excite and thrill, there is in these tales plentiful humor and a bright play of fancy, so that if one sups on horrors the dish is tastily flavored and garnished to tickle the eye.

The Myth of Royal Patronage.

English Lands, Letters and Kings By DONALD G. MITCHELL. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

This fourth volume of Ike Marvel's charming series of familiar talks about the lucky and luckless makers of English literature brings them down from the time of the later Georges to Victoria. There was no necessity for, nor particular advantage in, classifying these writers by reigns. On the contrary, it is confusing, as few, indeed, even among the English in their own land, know or care much about the dates of their sovereigns. As the author delivered his chapters as parlor lectures to young lady students it may be inferred that they were as interested in the kings and queens as in the men whose genius made their reigns worth remembering. Some day, perhaps, we may come down to group our great authors round the names of the Presidents, whose illustrious patronage did or did not confer honor or offices upon our men of letters. Peace to their ashes when we do!

This volume divides its seven chapters among the late poets, the Scotchmen, Scott, Wilson, Jeffrey, with Sydney Smith and Brougham, of the *Edinburgh Review*, Landor, Hunt, Moore, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Macaulay, Bulwer and Disraeli. Other famous names find pleasant mention as the author rambles along in his characteristic winning way. Eleven pages given to Leigh Hunt is out of all proportion to his claim, although his father was a British-born Philadelphia lawyer and his mother a native of the city. The radicalism of Hunt was about on a par with his poetry, mediocre and void of grit. Tom Moore's ten pages were better earned. He, too, sojourned in Philadelphia for a time, notwithstanding which gracious patronage of the New World he went home and wrote some ill-natured things of the Republic. His punishment, deep and bitter, comes this very month in his name being struck out of the roll of honor in—is it the Washington library? Later advices report that generous reconsideration has been given, on assurances that he subsequently repented, so that the walls are now to be adorned with

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the name of the *Lalla Rookh* poet and the singer of the most exquisite Irish melodies. In the four pages devoted to Queen Victoria the author does unwonted homage to majesty as a benefactor to literature and its votaries, "because she and her household have been encouragers and patrons of both letters and art in many ways, and yet, again, because this Queen is herself, in virtue of certain modest book-making to be enrolled with all courtesy in the Guild of Letters." This is overdoing the graceful, to the verge of irony. If the author had remembered that Sir Theodore Martin wrote all in the "Queen's Journal" which entitles it to rank as a book, he would have seen the absurdity of hoisting royalty to an elevation to which it makes no claim. As to the fancied "patronage" and substantial "encouragement" showered from the throne upon men of letters it is enough to say that so far as there is real honor in the acceptance by a writer of a title, the honor has been conferred upon the sovereign by the recipient. The profession of letters is able to spurn royal patronage, which was not tendered in the days of need.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Dr. W. A. Mowry, author of "The History of the United States," reviewed in THE AMERICAN a few weeks ago, in courteously acknowledging the criticisms it elicited, states that the following errors to which his attention was called, are being corrected for the new edition. Instead of the statement that "after the discovery of silver in the western Territories, its abundance caused it to decline in value as compared with gold," it will read "since the discovery of silver in our western territory its value as compared with gold has greatly declined." The statement that the \$100,000,000 reserve was one of the "features of the Sherman Resumption Act," is now changed to this: "by the Bank Act of July 12, 1882, it was provided that if the gold coin and bullion in the treasury reserve, for the redemption of greenbacks, should fall below (that sum) gold certificates should no longer be issued." And the error in the amount of greenbacks will be set right as we suggested. We reciprocate the spirit in which our criticisms were accepted and thank the author for his courtesy.

**

The death of Francis William Newman, in his ninety-third year is announced. In his day he was a very great man, and might easily have rivalled if not outstripped his brother in fame if he had cared for it, but to the multitude he is only known, if known at all, as the younger brother of John Henry, Cardinal Newman. It was the privilege of the present writer to enjoy his friendship, and some intercourse with the famous ecclesiastic, who in truth was as little of the ecclesiastic as ever wore the red. The two brothers came to the parting of the ways in matters of faith early in their career. Neither of them was able to reconcile his reason with the orthodox faith and each solved the difficulty in his own way, John Henry by throwing his intellect into the Catholic Church, and Francis by adapting an easy Unitarianism to suit his individual case.

**

His work, "Phases of Faith," made a scare and a deep impression when it appeared, and all his writings in philosophy, history and on social movements were worthy of his powers. But his genius was of the order cranky, the honorable crankiness which makes the wheels of progress go round, though it be with eccentric motion. He was Uncle Sam in the flesh, what little there was left on his bones, tall, lanky, Yankee-bearded chin and Emerson's nose. His great hobby was in being anti-everything, anti-flesh eating, anti-salt eating, anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, and so on till people began to wonder whether he was not also ante-diluvian. When past sixty, if memory serves, he took it into his head to marry his unlettered housekeeper because she was so good a vegetarian cook, and on her death he wrote and published an epitaph that an empress might envy. In Francis Newman there has passed a type of rare intellectuality and still rarer humility, a noble character, the beauty of which neither dogmatic pugnacity nor oddness of manner could impair.

**

The important part that machinery plays in the production of books in this country is graphically set forth in a recent issue of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*. A Western publishing house agreed to fill an order for 2,000 copies of a cloth-bound 12mo book of 350 pages in three days. The type was set by machinery for the entire 350 pages before work stopped Monday night. Electrotpe plates were made so rapidly that on Tuesday morning

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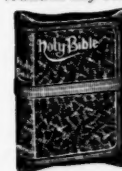
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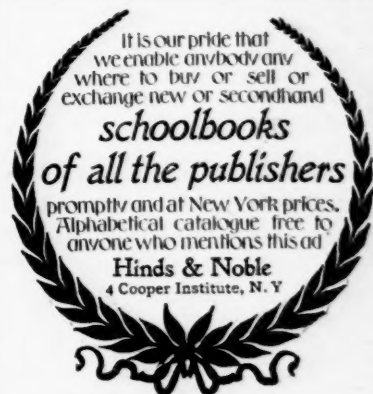
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several printing presses were set in motion. In the meantime covers were made in the bindery, and by Wednesday morning the binders had the book in hand. Two thousand volumes were completed that day, and the edition of 10,000 was entirely out of the way before Saturday night.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- THE SACRIFICE OF A THRONE.** Being an account of the Life of Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, Sometime King of Spain. By H. Remsen Whitehouse. Pp. 328. New York: Bonnell, Silver & Co. \$1.50.
- HOW TO BUILD A HOME.** The House Practical. By Francis C. Moore. Pp. 158. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co.
- EDGAR ALLAN POE.** Little Masterpieces, a series edited by Bliss Perry. Pp. 207. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 30 cents.
- HUMOR.** Tales from McClure's. Pp. 186. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co.
- ROMANCE.** Tales from McClure's. Pp. 170. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co.
- WHEN THE WORLD WAS YOUNGER.** By Miss M. E. Braddon. Pp. 499. New York: R. F. Fenn & Co. \$1.25.
- FROM A GIRL'S POINT OF VIEW.** By Lillian Bell. Pp. 192. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- WHITE MAN'S AFRICA.** By Poultney Bigelow. Pp. 271; illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- MY STUDIO NEIGHBORS.** By William Hamilton Gibson. Pp. 245; illustrated by the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- AN OPEN-EYED CONSPIRACY.** An Idyl of Saratoga. By W. D. Howells. Pp. 181. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- THE REVOLUTION.** Two Ways Through; One Peaceable, One Otherwise. Which will We Choose? By O. D. Jones. Pp. 216. Edina, Mo. The Author. 25 cents.
- BY RIGHT OF SWORD.** By Arthur W. Marchmont. Pp. 333. New York: New Amsterdam Book Co. \$1.25.
- DARWIN, AND AFTER DARWIN.** By George John Romanes, M.A., LL.D. F.R.S. III. Post Darwinian Questions, Isolation and Physiological Selection. Pp. 181. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. \$1.
- KARMA.** A Story of Early Buddhism. By Paul Carus. Pp. 21. Illustrated and Printed by T. Hasegawa, Tokyo, Japan, for The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. 75 cents.
- BETTER DAYS; Or, A Millionaire of To-morrow.** By Thomas and Anna M. Fitch. Pp. 373. Chicago: The Schulte Publishing Company. 25 cents.
- AMERICAN NOBILITY.** By Pierre de Coulevain. Pp. 498. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- THIS COUNTRY OF OURS.** By Ex-President Benjamin Harrison. Pp. 360. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- CATHARINE SCHUYLER.** Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times. By Mary Gay Humphreys. Pp. 251. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON; and the Tour to the Hebrides.** By James Boswell, edited by Percy Fitzgerald, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. 726. New York: Thomas Whittaker. \$2.

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